

1/26/77

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WITHDRAWAL SHEET (PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARIES)

FORM OF DOCUMENT	CORRESPONDENTS OR TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
Memo	Brzezinski (NSC) Re: Discussions with foreign digni- taries <i>OPENED 11/7/13</i>	n. d.	A
Note	to HJ, w/attachments, 3 pp. Re: Intelligence Community	1/26/77	A
Note	Kraft to Pres. Carter, w/attachments, 4 pp. Re: Appointments in HEW	1/26/77	C

FILE LOCATION

Carter Presidential Papers, Staff Offices, Office of Chief of Staff, Presidential Handwriting File, 1/26/77 Box 4

RESTRICTION CODES

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7/29

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Speech made

1/26/79

TO : *Pres. Hutchison*

FROM: Carolyn Shields *CS*
Secy. to Jody Powell

*I found the attached
on Jody's desk - but
have some of the
President's markings -
for archival or
whatever -*

P RESIDENTIAL STATEMENT ON EMERGENCY NATURAL GAS ACT

THIS AFTERNOON I SENT THE CONGRESS MY REQUEST
FOR THE EMERGENCY NATURAL GAS ACT OF 1977.

I URGED THE CONGRESS TO ACT IMMEDIATELY BECAUSE
THIS WINTER'S SHORTAGE OF NATURAL GAS HAS BECOME A
CRISIS.

EVERYONE IN THE EASTERN TWO-THIRDS OF OUR NATION
REALIZES THAT THIS HAS BEEN A WINTER OF UNPRECEDENTED
SEVERITY. TEMPERATURES FAR BELOW NORMAL HAVE DANGEROUSLY
DEPLETED OUR NATURAL GAS SUPPLIES.

HALF THE PIPELINE SYSTEMS HAVE ALREADY CURTAILED
SHIPMENTS TO MAJOR INDUSTRIAL USERS. FOUR THOUSAND
PLANTS ARE NOW CLOSED. FOUR HUNDRED THOUSAND PEOPLE
HAVE BEEN LAID OFF.

ELECTROSTATIC REPRODUCTION MADE FOR
PRESERVATION PURPOSES

SHIPMENTS TO HOMES HAVE ALREADY BEEN CURTAILED
ON TWO PIPELINES. MANY OTHER HOME-OWNERS ARE NOW
THREATENED WITH THAT PROSPECT.

AND THE FORECAST FOR THE REST OF THE WINTER IS FOR
CONTINUING EXTREME COLD.

THE EFFECT OF THIS WINTER'S HARDSHIPS WILL SPREAD
TO EVERY PORTION OF THE NATION. CONTINUED LAYOFFS
WILL SERIOUSLY HARM OUR CHANCES FOR ECONOMIC RECOVERY.

THIS LEGISLATION WILL PERMIT ME TO ALLOCATE GAS
TO CRISIS AREAS OF OUR COUNTRY TO MEET A THREAT TO
LIFE, HEALTH OR PROPERTY.

THE BILL WILL ALSO ALLOW EMERGENCY SALES OF
NATURAL GAS FROM THOSE PIPELINES WHICH STILL HAVE
A SURPLUS TO THOSE WITH THE MOST SEVERE SHORTAGES.

BUT IT IS IMPORTANT TO BE FRANK. THIS BILL
WILL NOT END THE SHORTAGES. IT WILL NOT IMPROVE THE
WEATHER. IT WILL NOT SOLVE UNEMPLOYMENT.

ITS PURPOSE IS TO ENSURE THAT NO PORTION OF
OUR COUNTRY MUST GO WITHOUT ESSENTIAL SERVICES.

IT WILL ALSO MEAN HIGHER PRICES SINCE A LARGER
PORTION, PERHAPS TWO PERCENT OF THE INTERSTATE SUPPLY
WILL COME FROM EMERGENCY SALES. PRICES WILL REMAIN
THE SAME FOR THE OTHER 98 PERCENT.

NOTHING MORE CLEARLY ILLUSTRATES THE SERIOUS
CONSEQUENCES OF OUR LONG DELAY IN CREATING A NATIONAL
ENERGY POLICY. IN ADDITION TO OFFERING THIS EMERGENCY
LEGISLATION, I HAVE DIRECTED JAMES SCHLESINGER TO DEVELOP
A COMPREHENSIVE ENERGY POLICY FOR SUBMISSION TO
CONGRESS AT AN EARLY DATE.

THERE IS ONE OTHER STEP WE MUST TAKE. I AGAIN
ASK EVERY AMERICAN TO BE SURE THAT THERMOSTATS ARE
NO HIGHER THAN 65 DURING THE DAYTIME AND LOWER AT
NIGHT. THIS SINGLE STEP CAN ELIMINATE HALF THE CURRENT
SHORTAGE OF GAS AND PUT THOUSANDS OF AMERICANS BACK
TO WORK.

I HAVE TURNUD THE THERMOSTAT DOWN HERE, IN
THE WHITE HOUSE AND ORDERED IT REDUCED IN ALL GOVERNMENT
BUILDINGS. I ASK EVERYONE, EVERYWHERE IN THIS COUNTRY,
TO COOPERATE, SO THAT NO ONE MUST GO WITHOUT HEAT.

FINALLY, I MUST SAY TO YOU FRANKLY THAT THIS
IS NOT A TEMPORARY REQUEST FOR CONSERVATION. OUR
ENERGY PROBLEMS WILL NOT BE OVER NEXT YEAR OR THE
YEAR AFTER. FURTHER SACRIFICES MAY WELL BE NECESSARY.
I BELIEVE THIS COUNTRY IS TOUGH ENOUGH AND STRONG
ENOUGH TO MEET THAT CHALLENGE.

for 5th

Draft -- Presidential Statement of Emergency Natural Gas Act

This afternoon I ~~have~~ sent the Congress my request for the Emergency Natural Gas Act of 1977.

I ~~have~~ urged the Congress to act immediately ~~on the bill~~ because this winter's shortage of natural gas has become a crisis.

Everyone in the eastern two-thirds of our nation realizes that this has been a winter of unprecedented severity. Temperatures far below normal have ^(dangerously) depleted our natural gas supplies.

Half the ~~gas~~ pipeline systems have already curtailed shipments to major industrial users. ^{Four} ~~Three~~ thousand plants are now closed. ^{Four} ~~Three~~ hundred thousand people have been laid off.

Two pipelines ~~have even had to curtail~~ Shipments to their highest priority customers, including home ~~owners~~ ^{have already been curtailed on} ~~Many other pipelines are nearing that point~~ ^(home-owners) ~~now threatened with that prospect.~~

And the forecast for the rest of the winter is for continuing extreme cold.

~~of~~ This winter's hardships ~~have been worst in the coldest states. But the effect~~ ^(will spread) to every portion of the nation. Continued layoffs will seriously harm our chances for ~~full~~ economic recovery.

* → The bill that I am proposing ^(will also) ~~would~~ allow emergency sales of natural gas from those pipelines -- ~~mainly in the West~~ which still have a surplus to those with the most severe shortages.

-2- frank.

~~That's Bill can do.~~

(But it is important to recognize ~~the limitations on what can~~
~~I must be frank about this bill.~~ ^{This bill} ~~It will not end~~ ^{end.}

the shortages. It will not improve the weather. It will not solve ~~the~~ unemployment.

Its purpose is to ensure that no portion of our country must go without essential services.

(Since a larger portion, perhaps)

It will also mean higher prices, ~~for the approximately~~
^{two} ~~five~~ percent of the ^{interstate} ~~natural gas~~ supply ^{come from} ~~that will be subject to~~
~~to~~ emergency sales. Prices will remain the same for the other 95 percent.

^{serious consequences}

Nothing more clearly illustrates the ^{of} ~~high price we now~~ ^{create} ~~pay for~~ our long delay in ~~setting~~ ^{establishing} a national energy policy.

(Directed) In addition to offering this emergency legislation, I have ~~appointed~~ ^{Superior to this} James Schlesinger to ~~draft~~ ^{develop} a comprehensive energy policy for submission to Congress ~~as soon as possible.~~ ^{at an early date} ~~by~~ ^{at an early date.}

^{AGAIN}

There is one other step we must take. I ~~ask~~ every

American to be sure that thermostats are no higher than 65 ^{lower} during the daytime and 55 at night. This single step ~~would~~ ^{could} ~~eliminate~~ ^{save} half the current shortage of gas, ^{put} ~~thousands~~ of Americans ^{back to work.}

I have turned the thermostat down here, in the White House and ordered it reduced in all government buildings. I ask everyone, everywhere in the country, to cooperate, so that no one must go without heat.

Finally, I must say to you frankly that this is not a temporary request for conservation. Our energy problems will not be over next year or the year after. Further sacrifices may well be necessary. I believe this country is tough enough and strong enough to meet that challenge.



legislation

THIS ~~BILL~~ WILL PERMIT ME TO ALLOCATE GAS TO
CRISIS AREAS OF OUR COUNTRY TO MEET A THREAT TO LIFE,
HEALTH OR PROPERTY.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SENT

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

DROP-BY

WASHINGTON PRESS CLUB'S ANNUAL CONGRESSIONAL DINNER

Wednesday - January 26, 1977

Sheraton Park Hotel

Attire: Black TieDeparture: 9:05 P.M.From: Tim Kratt / 71BACKGROUND

Departing the South Grounds at 9:05 p.m., you will motorcade to the Sheraton Park Hotel to drop-by the Washington Press Club's Annual Congressional Dinner honoring new Members of Congress. Upon arrival at the Hotel, you will be greeted by Elsie Carper, Washington Post; Ron Sarro, Washington Star; Nord Schwiebert, Sheraton Park Vice President and Victor Browning, Sheraton Park Sales Manager.

After announcement, you will take your seat at the Head Table and the light, humorous program consisting of answers to questions by eight new Members -- 4 from the Senate and 4 from the House -- will begin. Following this, Ellen Wadley, President, National Press Club, introduces you for brief remarks. At the conclusion of your remarks, Ellen Wadley introduces the "surprise mystery" guest-- Senator Robert Byrd who entertains by playing his violin. This event completes the program and you thank your hosts and depart.

LIST OF HEAD TABLE GUESTS ATTACHED AT TAB A.SEQUENCE

9:05 p.m.	You board motorcade on South Grounds and depart en route Sheraton Park Hotel.
9:15 p.m.	Motorcade arrives Sheraton Park Hotel.

PRESS POOL COVERAGE
CLOSED ARRIVAL

January

1/26/77

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

1-26-77

To Harold Brown

See Boston GLOBE
article re deficiencies
in Sparrow missile &
give me a brief
comment -

J. C.

cc BZ

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

1-26-77

To Jbig

Set up for Saturday
a meeting among me, Cy,
Andy & you - about
2 hours. prepare agenda
re foreign issues - State/
UN/NSC relationships, etc.
Andy & Cy submit items
to be discussed -

J. C.

cc: Cy
Andy

cc Tim Kraft

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

1-26-77

To Jbig & Cy

In the future, please
clear any diplomatic enter-
tainment with Tim Kraft
in order to avoid scheduling
Conflicts.

J. C.

cc: Kraft
Rosalynn

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

done
J

January 25, 1977

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT
FROM: TIM KRAFT
SUBJECT: Scheduling of Heads of State/
Foreign Dignitaries

We find that dates for state visits are being scheduled or "reserved" by the NSC. I assume it is with your concurrence with Dr. Brzezinski, but your scheduling office is not being checked with or informed.

There are several considerations here: the NSC might invite a head of state in direct conflict with a domestic commitment. Note the attached memorandum from Tim Smith; (the first three visits came to our attention inadvertently); as Gretchen Poston pointed out, the Trudeau visit might have been scheduled before the Portillo visit, allowing more informality and setting a precedent for same.

Also, as Tim Smith points out, if we don't schedule two evening dinners in a row (the first in the White House, the second in the visitor's embassy), we might break that precedent and have only one state dinner. But it should be our (Appointments, in consultation with you and Rosalynn) decision, and not that of the NSC.

RECOMMENDATION: That you advise Dr. Brzezinski and Secretary Vance that dates for state visits are to be checked with us and cleared with you (through Appointments).

We're not trying to get into the invitation/protocol area; we do want to clear dates for your time on a rational and systematic basis.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

cc *From*
January 25, 1977

MEMO FOR: TIM SMITH
FROM: HELEN DONALDSON
SUBJECT: Foreign Visitors

In checking my NSC source, I am advised that the dates reserved for foreign visitors in the next two months are as follows:

February 14 and 15	President Lopez Portillo of Mexico
February 21 and 22	Prime Minister Trudeau of Canada
March 2 and 3	Prime Minister Rabin of Israel
March 10 and 11	Prime Minister Callahan of England
March 21 and 22	Prime Minister Fukuda of Japan

As to the format for Foreign Visitors, there are two categories: Chief of State which would be a President, King or Queen, etc.; Head of Government would be a Prime Minister or Chancellor or someone comparable.

It has been customary in a new Administration for both to be accorded full treatment on their first visit: Arrival ceremony (usually at 10:30 a.m.) followed by an hour's office meeting at 11:00. That same evening the State Dinner at the White House. Then there is the matter of a second office meeting the next morning (this is dependent on the type of visit - substantive or ceremonial; for example, the Emperor of Japan was ceremonial). NSC states that probably all of the above visitors should have a second meeting.

Then there is the matter of a return dinner the second night with the visitor as host. This is somewhat flexible but it would seem that a policy should be set early on in this regard because once the President attends a return event (dinner or reception) a precedent is set and it's difficult to change.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

To Be
bobbled out
from the
President 1/26.

1-26-77

To Ham -

I intend to establish an office of Drug Abuse Policy, with Peter as head.

See me - OMB now has some staff -

J.C.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 26, 1977

Anne Higgins -

The President did speak with
Mr Leath but he would like a
note prepared in addition.

Rick Hutcheson

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Called

January 24, 1977

TO: Tim Kraft
FROM: Fran *fran*
RE: Possible "People" call for President

Mt.

Mr. Harry Leath of Olive, Illinois (near St. Louis) came to Washington especially for the Inaugural (to fulfill a life-long dream) --- He is 68 years old.

He fell on the ice and broke his hip the day before the Inaugural. Went into surgery morning of the 20th; therefore, missed Inaugural even on TV.

Direct Room Number at Washington Hospital
Center is 541-5527.

NOTE: If the President calls, please advise.
If he does not call, please advise.

In either case, we will prepare an appropriate note to Mr. Leath, Room 22A, 3F Wing, Washington Hospital Center, D.C.

Send note
J.C. Thanks.
LMS

January 26, 1977

Ham Jordan -

Appointments

1/26/77

TO: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: HAMILTON JORDAN *HJ*

There are three areas of concern to me that require your own attention and involvement if we are to protect our own political interests and have a good relationship with the Congress.

One is the whole area of diplomatic appointments. We have a few - not many - people who are qualified and interested in ambassadorships. These recommendations should be made to Secretary Vance in a positive way that results in the persons being considered on their own merits and not as political cronies.

*Give
me
names*

Secondly, Judge Bell is now able to begin to appoint U.S. Marshals and District Attorneys. We have a number of good political supporters - like Bill Shaheen of New Hampshire, George Mitchell of Maine, and Dick Pettigrew of Miami - who should be considered. Also, close consultation with Congress is important.

*Give
me
names*

Thirdly, the domestic Cabinet members have regional offices that wield significant influence in the Federal government. My own guess has been that you will restructure these district offices - at least to the point of redefining their scope and mission. In the short run, it is still important that we have control of these district offices with persons who are politically acceptable to members of Congress but committed to the goals and policies of their departments.

*Give me
names*

I would recommend that we have three separate meetings with Secretary Vance, Attorney General Bell and the domestic Cabinet officers and discuss and establish ~~a~~ ~~procedures~~. Unless you are personally involved and a clear and simple procedure is established, we are going to suffer politically in not being able to insure that our political friends are given the fair consideration they deserve and in not having the Congress properly informed and involved in these decisions.

Please let me know what you think.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

1/26/77

Jim Fallows -

The attached was returned in
the President's outbox. It is
forwarded to you for appropriate
handling.

Rick Hutcheson

*What did you do in
the class war,
Daddy?*

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 25, 1977

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT--FYI

FROM: Jim Fallows

ABOUT: Personal information you should know

In October, 1975, I wrote the attached article in The Washington Monthly. It made a point you have often made--that one class of people bore the country's burden during the Vietnam war, while another class, those who could afford a good education, escaped without much pain. I made the point by recounting my own experience, and that of my friends at Harvard, in steering clear of the draft.

The article is by no means a secret. It was reprinted in about a dozen papers, including National Observer, the Boston Globe, Newsday, the Philadelphia Bulletin, and others. The reactions were predictable--some praise, some spite.

Because I knew the article was controversial, I pointed it out to Pat Anderson and to Stu's staff when I first contacted your campaign organization last June. I said in my application that I hoped they would read that article if they read nothing else of mine.

Last night and today I have been receiving phone calls from several right-wing publications--Human Events, "Spotlight," and others published by Liberty Lobby. They are all preparing stories about the draft dodger on the President's staff. The Washington Post was planning to run a story in tomorrow's edition, until I pointed out to them that David Broder had made a one-sentence mention of the article when he wrote about my taking this job two weeks ago.

There is nothing illegal in what I recount, and there is nothing I have concealed--on the contrary, I have done my best to publicize the article. I am proud rather than ashamed to have written it. I wanted to warn you, though, of this development in case it went any further.

*Jim- I read
this when it
came out. &
assessed it
before asking
you to join
me. You can
be proud of
it.*

J

ary issue 8th anniversary issue 8th anniversary

What Did You Do in the Class War, Daddy?

by James Fallows

Many people think that the worst scars of the war years have healed. I don't. Vietnam has left us with a heritage rich in possibilities for class warfare, and I would like to start telling about it with this story:

In the fall of 1969, I was beginning my final year in college. As the months went by, the rock on which I had unthinkingly anchored my hopes—the certainty that the war in Vietnam would be over before I could possibly fight—began to crumble. It shattered altogether on Thanksgiving weekend, when, while riding back to Boston from a visit with my relatives, I heard that the draft lottery had been held and my birthdate had come up number 45. I recognized for the first time that, inflexibly, I must either be drafted or consciously find a way to prevent it.

In the atmosphere of that time, each possible choice came equipped with barbs. To answer the call was unthinkable, not only because, in my heart, I was desperately afraid of being killed, but also because, among my friends, it was axiomatic that one should not be "complicit" in the

immoral war effort. Draft resistance, the course chosen by a few noble heroes of the movement, meant going to prison or leaving the country. With much the same intensity with which I wanted to stay alive, I did not want those things either. What I wanted was to go to graduate school, get married, and to enjoy those bright prospects I had been taught that life owed me.

I learned quickly enough that there was only one way to get what I wanted. A physical deferment would restore things to the happy state I had known during four undergraduate years. The barbed alternatives would be put off. By the impartial dictates of public policy I would be free to pursue the better side of life.

Like many of my friends whose numbers had come up wrong in the lottery, I set about securing my salvation. When I was not participating in anti-war rallies, I was poring over the Army's code of physical regulations. During the winter and early spring, seminars were held in the college common rooms. There, sympathetic medical students helped us search for disqualifying conditions that we, in our many years of good health, might have overlooked. Although, on the doctors' advice, I made a half-hearted try at fainting spells, my only real possibility was beating the height and

James Fallows is a contributing editor of The Washington Monthly and a member of the White House staff. This article was originally published in October 1975.

8th anniversary issue 8th anniversary i

weight regulations. My normal weight was close to the cut-off point for an "underweight" disqualification, and, with a diligence born of panic, I made sure I would have a margin. I was six-foot-one-inch tall at the time. On the morning of the draft physical I weighed 120 pounds.

Before sunrise that morning I rode the subway to the Cambridge city hall, where we had been told to gather for shipment to the examination at the Boston Navy Yard. The examinations were administered on a rotating basis, one to two days each month for each of the draft boards in the area. Virtually everyone who showed up on Cambridge day at the Navy Yard was a student from Harvard or MIT.

There was no mistaking the political temperament of our group. Many of my friends wore red arm bands and stop-the-war buttons. Most chanted the familiar words, "Ho, Ho, Ho Chi Minh/NLF is Gonna Win." One of the things we had learned from the draft counselors was that disruptive behavior at the examination was a worthwhile political goal, not only because it obstructed the smooth operation of the criminal war machine, but also because it might impress the examiners with our undesirable character traits. As we climbed into the buses and as they rolled toward the Navy Yard, about half of the young men brought the chants to a crescendo. The rest of us sat rigid and silent, clutching x-rays and letters from our doctors at home.

Inside the Navy Yard, we were first confronted by a young sergeant from Long Beach, a former surfer boy no older than the rest of us and seemingly unaware that he had an unusual situation on his hands. He started reading out instructions for the intelligence tests when he was hooted down. He went out to collect his lieutenant, who clearly had been

through a Cambridge day before. "We've got all the time in the world," he said, and let the chanting go on for two or three minutes. "When we're finished with you, you can go, and not a minute before."

From that point on the disruption became more purposeful and individual, largely confined to those whose deferment strategies were based on anti-authoritarian psychiatric traits. Twice I saw students walk up to young orderlies—whose hands were extended to receive the required cup of urine—and throw the vial in the orderlies' faces. The orderlies looked up, initially more astonished than angry, and went back to towel themselves off. Most of the rest of us trod quietly through the paces, waiting for the moment of confrontation when the final examiner would give his verdict. I had stepped on the scales at the very beginning of the examination. Desperate at seeing the orderly write down 122 pounds, I hopped back on and made sure that he lowered it to 120. I walked in a trance through the rest of the examination, until the final meeting with the fatherly physician who ruled on marginal cases such as mine. I stood there in socks and underwear, arms wrapped around me in the chilly building. I knew as I looked at the doctor's face that he understood exactly what I was doing.

"Have you ever contemplated suicide?" he asked after he finished looking over my chart. My eyes darted up to his. "Oh, suicide—yes, I've been feeling very unstable and unreliable recently." He looked at me, staring until I returned my eyes to the ground. He wrote "unqualified" on my folder, turned on his heels, and left. I was overcome by a wave of relief, which for the first time revealed to me how great my terror had been, and by the beginning of the sense of

'To answer the call was unthinkable, not only because, in my heart, I was desperately afraid of being killed, but also because, among my friends, it was axiomatic that one should not be "complicit" in the immoral war effort.'

shame that remains with me to this day.

It was, initially, a generalized shame at having gotten away with my deception, but it came into sharper focus later in the day. Even as the last of the Cambridge contingent was throwing its urine and deliberately failing its color-blindness tests, buses from the next draft board began to arrive. These bore the boys from Chelsea, thick, dark-haired young men, the white proles of Boston. Most of them were younger than us, since they had just left high school, and it had clearly never occurred to them that there might be a way around the draft. They walked through the examination lines like so many cattle off to slaughter. I tried to avoid noticing, but the results were inescapable. While perhaps four out of five of my friends from Harvard were being deferred, just the opposite was happening to the Chelsea boys.

We returned to Cambridge that afternoon, not in government buses but as free individuals, liberated and victorious. The talk was high-spirited, but there was something close to the surface that none of us wanted to mention. We knew now who would be killed.

The Thinking Man's Route

As other memories of the war years have faded, it is that day in the Navy Yard that will not leave my mind. The answers to the other grand questions about the war have become familiar as any catechism. Q. What were America's sins? A. The Arrogance of Power, the Isolation of the Presidency, the Burden of Colonialism, and the Failure of Technolog-

ical Warfare. In the abstract, at least, we have learned those lessons. For better or worse, it will be years before we again cheer a President who talks about paying any price and bearing any burden to prop up some spurious overseas version of democracy.

We have not, however, learned the lesson of the day at the Navy Yard, or the thousands of similar scenes all across the country through all the years of the war. Five years later, two questions have yet to be faced, let alone answered. The first is why, when so many of the bright young college men opposed the war, so few were willing to resist the draft, rather than simply evade it. The second is why all the well-educated, presumably humane young men, whether they opposed the war or were thinking fondly of A-bombs on Hanoi, so willingly took advantage of this most brutal form of class discrimination—what it signifies that we let the boys from Chelsea be sent off to die.

The "we" that I refer to are the mainly white, mainly well-educated children of mainly comfortable parents, who are now mainly embarked on promising careers in law, medicine, business, academics. What makes them a class is that they all avoided the draft by taking one of the thinking-man's routes to escape. These included the physical deferment, by far the smartest and least painful of all; the long technical appeals through the legal jungles of the Selective Service System; the more disingenuous resorts to conscientious objector status; and, one degree further down the scale of personal inconvenience, joining the Reserves or the National Guard. I am not talking about those who, on the one hand, submitted to the draft and

took their chances in the trenches, nor, on the other hand, those who paid the price of formal draft resistance or exile.

That there is such a class, identifiable as "we," was brought home to me by comparing the very different fates of the different sorts of people I had known in high school and college. Hundreds from my high school were drafted, and nearly two dozen killed. When I look at the memorial roll of names I find that I recognize very few, for they were mainly the anonymous Mexican-Americans (as they were called at the time) and poor whites I barely knew in high school and forgot altogether when I left. Several people from my high school left the country; one that I know of went to jail. By comparison, of two or three hundred acquaintances from college and afterwards, I can think of only three who actually fought in Vietnam. Another dozen or so served in safer precincts of the military, and perhaps five went through the ordeal of formal resistance. The rest of us escaped, in one way or another.

The fifth anniversary report of my class at Harvard gives a more precise idea of who did what. There were about 1,200 people in the class, and slightly fewer than half wrote in to report on what had happened to them since 1970. Of that number, 12 said that they had been in the Army, two specifying that they had served in Vietnam. One had been in the Marine reserves. Another 32 people, most of whom had held ROTC scholarships in

college, had put in time with the Navy. Two were in the Coast Guard, two in the National Guard, and seven more in unspecified branches of the military. That was the bite the military took from half my class at Harvard during a bloody year of the war—56 people, most of them far from the fighting. Besides them, seven of my classmates performed alternate service as conscientious objectors; and, though no one reported going to prison, one wrote from England that he was a "draft resister; beat the rap on a legal technicality," and another that he had "several years of legal entanglement with the draft and the Justice Department."

A few of the personal reports are worth quoting for what they tell about the way the burden of the war fell on the men of Harvard. Here are two from people who felt the pinch:

"Number four in the draft lottery sparked my idealism, and I entered the Peace Corps following graduation. After eighteen or so peaceful and mostly enjoyable months in and around a peasant village in Senegal, West Africa, I returned home and ended up in the jungles of Harvard Law School. . . ."

"I got a lucky draft, number 13. That was good for six months in the Reserves. There I got in-depth training on how to be a 'Petroleum Supply Storage Specialist,' i.e., a service station attendant. But the six months was put to good use by the Nixon Administration; that is how long it took to get me a security clearance for

a job in the Executive Office. Six months after my arrival there, the Wage Price Control Program was hatched, and the next three years were spent diverting public attention from other matters that were attracting that attention. With a briefcase of anecdotes, I decided to divert my attention back to my studies in economics at Wisconsin."

Meanwhile, those who did not go were preparing themselves, each by his own lights, for their contributions to the world:

"My wife and I graduated from Harvard Law School in 1973 and we are both working for New York City firms. She is associated with Cravath, Swaine, and Moore, and I am with Davis, Polk, & Wardwell."

"With four unpleasant medical school years behind me, I am enjoying Philadelphia and internship. I hope to deliver babies on Maui someday."

"After the usual three-year stint (at Columbia) I find myself in the unusual position of practicing law in the entertainment field. Clients include Norman Lear, Burt Reynolds, Ryan O'Neal, Valerie Perrine, et al., as well as a number of 'struggling young artists'—the latter *pro bono*, of course. . . ."

"Am practicing corporate law (mostly tax), working fairly hard, enjoying my schizophrenic law firm/Berkeley hippy life very much. . . ."

At a minimum, the record of my class should help Midge Decter over her fears that the people of my generation have somehow strayed from the straight and narrow path. More than that, it does sum up the home front's story of the war: we happy few were sped along to Maui or the entertainment law firm, or at worst temporarily way-laid in the reserves, while from each of our high schools the less gifted and industrious

students were being shipped off as cannon fodder. There are those who contend that the world has always worked this way, and perhaps that is true. The question is why, especially in the atmosphere of the late sixties, people with any presumptions to character could have let it go on.

Learning From Lyndon

First we should consider the conduct of those who opposed the war. Not everyone at Harvard felt that way, nor, I suspect, did even a majority of the people throughout the country who found painless ways to escape the draft. But I did, and most of the people I knew did, and so did the hordes we always ran into at the anti-war rallies. Yet most of us managed without difficulty to stay out of jail. The tonier sorts of anti-war literature contained grace-note references to Gandhi and Thoreau—no CO application would have been complete without them—but the practical model for our wartime conduct was our enemy LBJ, who weaseled away from the front lines during World War II.

It may be worth emphasizing why our failure to resist induction is such an important issue. Five years after Cambodia and Kent State, it is clear how the war could have lasted so long. Johnson and Nixon both knew that the fighting could continue only so long as the vague, hypothetical benefits of holding off Asian communism outweighed the immediate, palpable domestic pain. They knew that when the screaming grew too loud and too many sons had been killed, the game would be all over. That is why Vietnamization was such a godsend for Nixon, and it is also why our reluctance to say No helped prolong the war. The more we guaranteed that we would end up neither in uniform nor

'As long as the little gold stars kept going to homes in Chelsea and the backwoods of West Virginia, the mothers of Chevy Chase and Great Neck were not on the telephones to their congressmen screaming you killed my boy.'

behind bars, the more we made sure that *our* class of people would be spared the real cost of the war. (Not that we didn't suffer. There was, of course, the *angst*, the terrible moral malaise we liked to write about so much in the student newspapers and undergraduate novels.)

The children of the bright, good parents were spared the more immediate sort of suffering that our inferiors were undergoing. And because of that, when our parents were opposed to the war, they were opposed in a bloodless, theoretical fashion, as they might be opposed to political corruption or racism in South Africa. As long as the little gold stars kept going to homes in Chelsea and the backwoods of West Virginia, the mothers of Beverly Hills and Chevy Chase and Great Neck and Belmont were not on the telephones to their congressmen, screaming *you killed my boy*, they were not writing to the President that his crazy, wrong, evil war had put their boys in prison and ruined their careers. It is clear by now that if the men of Harvard had wanted to do the very most they could to help shorten the war, they should have been drafted or imprisoned en masse.

This was not such a difficult insight, even at the time. Lyndon Johnson clearly understood it, which was the main reason why the *graduate school* deferment, that grotesque of class discrimination, lasted through the big mobilizations of the war, until the springtime of 1968. Even when that deferment was gone, Johnson's administrators came up with the intelligence-test plan for draft deferments, an even bolder attempt to keep those voluble upper classes off the President's back. What is interesting is how little of this whole phenomenon we at Harvard pretended to understand. On the day after the graduate school deferments were snatched away from

us, a day Johnson must have dreaded because it added another set of nasty enemies to his list, the Harvard *Crimson* responded with a magnificently representative editorial entitled "The Axe Falls." A few quotes convey its gist:

"The axiom that this nation's tangled Selective Service System is bound to be unfair to somebody fell with a crash on the Harvard community yesterday. The National Security Council's draft directive puts almost all college seniors and most graduate students at the head of the line for next year's draft calls. Three-fourths of the second-year law class will go off to war... Yesterday's directive is a bit of careless expediency, clearly unfair to the students who would have filled the nation's graduate schools next fall."

That was it, the almost incredible level of understanding and compassion we displayed at the time—the idea that the real victims of General Hershey's villainous schemes were *the students who would have filled the nation's graduate schools next fall*. Occasionally, both in the *Crimson* and elsewhere, there were bows to the discriminatory nature of the whole 2-S deferment system and the virtues of the random lottery which Edward Kennedy, to his eternal credit, was supporting almost singlehandedly at the time. But there was no mistaking which emotions came from the heart, which principles really seemed worth fighting for.

X-Ray Vision

It would be unfair to suggest that absolutely no thought was given to the long-run implications of our actions. For one thing, there were undercurrents of the sentiment that another *Crimson* writer, James Glassman, expressed in an article early in

'The behavior of the upper classes in so deftly avoiding the war's pains is both a symptom and a partial cause of the class hatred now so busily brewing in the country.'

1968. "Two years ago, Harvard students complained that the system was highly discriminatory, favoring the well off," Glassman wrote. "They called the 2-S an unfair advantage for those who could go to college." But as the war wore on, "The altruism was forgotten. What was most important now was saving your own skin—preventing yourself from being in a position where you would have to kill a man you had no right to kill."

Moreover, a whole theoretical framework was developed to justify draft evasion. During many of the same meetings where I heard about the techniques of weight reduction, I also learned that we should think of ourselves as sand in the gears of the great war machine. During one of those counseling sessions I sat through a speech by Michael Ferber, then something of a celebrity as a codefendant in the trial of Dr. Spock. He excited us by revealing how close we were to victory. Did we realize that the draft machine was tottering towards its ultimate breakdown? That it was hardly in better condition than old General Hershey himself? That each body we withheld from its ravenous appetite brought it that much nearer the end? Our duty, therefore, was clear: as committed opponents of the war, we had a responsibility to save ourselves from the war machine.

This argument was most reassuring, for it meant that the course of action that kept us alive and out of jail was also the politically correct decision. The boys of Chelsea were not often mentioned during these sessions; when they were, regret was expressed that they had not yet understood the correct approach to the draft. We resolved to launch political-education programs, some under the auspices of

the Worker-Student Alliance, to help straighten them out. In the meantime, there was the physical to prepare for.

It does not require enormous powers of analysis to see the basic fraudulence of this argument. General Hershey was never in danger of running out of bodies, and the only thing we were denying him was the chance to put *us* in uniform. With the same x-ray vision that enabled us to see in every Pentagon sub-clerk, in every Honeywell accountant, an embryonic war criminal, we could certainly have seen that by keeping ourselves away from both frying pan and fire we were prolonging the war and consigning the Chelsea boys to danger and death. But somehow the x-rays were deflected.

There was, I believe, one genuine concern that provided the x-ray shield and made theories like Ferber's go down more easily. It was a monstrous war, not only in its horror but in the sense that it was beyond control, and to try to fight it as individuals was folly. Even as we knew that a thousand, or ten thousand, college boys going to prison might make a difference, we knew with equal certainty that the imprisonment and ruination of any one of us would mean nothing at all. The irrational war machine would grind on as if we had never existed, and our own lives would be pointlessly spoiled. From a certain perspective, it could even seem like grandstanding, an exercise in excessive piety, to go to the trouble of resisting the draft. The one moral issue that was within our control was whether we would actually participate—whether, as Glassman put it, we would be forced to kill—and we could solve that issue as easily by getting a deferment as by passing the time in jail.

The Merchants of Death

It isn't a pleasant exercise, dredging up these hulks, but I think reviewing my generation's feelings about Vietnam is important. It serves two purposes—to tell us about the past, and to tell us about the present.

The lesson of the past concerns the complexities of human motivation. Doubtless because the enemy we were fighting was so horrible in its effects, there was very little room for complexity or ambiguity in the anti-war campaigns. On the black and white spectrum by which we judged personal conduct, bureaucrats were criminals if they stayed inside the government and politicians cowards if they failed to vote for resolutions to end the war; the businessmen of Dow and Honeywell were craven merchants of death; and we, meanwhile, were nothing less than the insistent voice of morality, striving tirelessly to bring the country to its senses. The easiest way to see those feelings revived is to attend a showing of the movie *Hearts and Minds* in the company of the young. When the lone heralds of morality, the anti-war protesters, finally appear, the audience breaks into cheers. *We were right.*

Of course we were right to try to stop the war. But I recall no suggestion during the sixties that it was graceless, *wrong* of us to ask the Foreign Service officers to resign when we were not sticking our necks out at the induction center. Granted, there is a difference between those two risks; imprisonment for a felony is a serious matter, and it was perhaps one degree more perilous to refuse induction as a 21-year-old than to throw aside a career as the 45-year-old father of three. But our calculations rarely even reached that point. The normal benchmark of morality was this: if we were showing our stuff by

taking to the picket lines (meanwhile continuing our cruise through college), then our elders were shameful, middle-aged cowards if they did not do their part, too. If nothing else, a glance back at our own record might give us an extra grain of sympathy for the difficulties of bringing men to honor, let alone glory.

The implications for the present are less comforting and go back to the question asked several pages ago. The behavior of the upper classes in so deftly avoiding the war's pains is both a symptom and a partial cause of the class hatred now so busily brewing in the country.

From its struggles in World War II, this country created a cushion of class toleration; our heritage from Vietnam is rich with potential for class hatred. World War II forced different classes of people to live together; Vietnam kept them rigidly apart, a process in which people like me were only too glad to cooperate. On either side of the class divide, the war has left feelings that can easily shade over into mistrust and hostility. Among those who went to war, there is a residual resentment, the natural result of a cool look at who ended up paying what price. On the part of those who were spared, there is a residual guilt, often so deeply buried that it surfaces only in unnaturally vehement denials that there is anything to feel guilty about. In a land of supposed opportunity, the comfortable hate to see the poor. Beneath all the explanations about self-help and just deserts, there remains the vein of empathy and guilt. Among the bright people of my generation, those who have made a cult of their high-mindedness, the sight of legless veterans and the memories of the Navy Yard must also touch that vein. They remind us that there was little character in the choices we made. ■

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Copy and entire file wi
to Bob Linder 1/26/77

8/20/77

ok
I

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 25, 1977

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT
THRU: RICK HUTCHESON
FROM: STU EIZENSTAT *Sh*
SUBJECT: RECOMMENDATION FOR MAJOR DISASTER
DECLARATIONS - MARYLAND AND VIRGINIA

The Governors of Maryland and Virginia have requested a major disaster declaration because of the freezing of the Chesapeake Bay Region. The Bay has been frozen since the beginning of this year and, according to the Coast Guard, will remain in that state until at least mid-March.

Under the Disaster Relief Act of 1974, you are authorized to provide Federal aid and loans to states which are suffering from some type of major disaster. A summary of that Act (as well as the entire text of the Act) is attached. Briefly, in the Maryland and Virginia situations, you are being asked to provide two types of Federal aid: Funds for unemployment compensation for ship owners and other small businessmen who are unable to work as a result of the freeze; and low-interest loans to those same persons in order to help them repair damage to their piers and oyster beds. (The fishermen affected by the freeze are principally oystermen; this is the oyster season in the Chesapeake Bay.)

?

The Federal Disaster Assistance Administration (FDAA), which is located in HUD and which is responsible for administering aid provided under the Disaster Relief Act, has surveyed the situation in Maryland and Virginia and has recommended to the Secretary of HUD that the requested relief be provided. Secretary Harris has requested that you grant the relief sought.

The freezing of the Bay is an abnormal occurrence and is, thus, the principal reason that the Governors have requested aid. The oyster fishermen were caught by surprise and have no alternative means of income or ways of repairing the physical damage. (By contrast, the Great Lakes are known to annually freeze and fishermen and others are not caught by surprise.) The unemployment compensation being sought is not for the employees of shipping operations or other businesses connected with the oyster trade; such employees are covered by the provisions of general unemployment compensation. It's the owners and small businessmen who are not covered by unemployment compensation who require assistance. FDAA estimates that in Maryland 1200 small businessmen will apply for compensation, and that 500 will apply in Virginia. The Governors of those states estimate higher possible applications (1800 and 3000 respectively), but FDAA regards those as unrealistic.

If the FDAA estimates are accurate, the amount of unemployment compensation paid in Maryland would be approximately \$1.1 million (\$89.00 per week for ten weeks), and in Virginia approximately \$600,000 (\$103.00 per week for ten weeks). (These figures assume, of course, that the freeze will be over in approximately ten weeks, which is the current best estimate.)

The other type of aid requested, loans, would automatically be triggered by your issuing a disaster declaration for Maryland and Virginia. The funds for the loans would be provided either through SBA or the Department of Agriculture. FDAA estimates that there would probably be 50 applications for \$15,000 loans in Maryland (\$750,000), and 20 applications for \$15,000 loans in Virginia (\$300,000). These figures are admittedly rough estimates. Whatever the actual figures might turn out to be, however, the history of repayment under these types of loans is extremely good. The loans would be at fairly low rates -- from SBA 6 5/8% and from Agriculture 5%. (The 5% loans are available only to those who have been turned down by two other lenders.)

In future be some state estimates are made as part of application

The funds for the loans would not come from the FDAA budget, but rather from SBA or Agriculture. The unemployment compensation funds would come from FDAA. At present FDAA has \$90 million remaining from its annual appropriation of approximately \$150 million. (Because of the drought situation in the Midwest, FDAA is now seeking a \$100 million supplemental appropriation.)

I recommend that you grant the requested aid by issuing disaster declarations. That can be done by signing the attached documentation at the place indicated. To avoid giving a blank check to Maryland and Virginia officials, and yet to avoid appearing parsimonious at a time of economic disaster, I recommend that you limit the amount of aid, initially, to \$1.1 million for Maryland and \$600,000 for Virginia under the unemployment assistance program, and \$750,000 for Maryland and \$300,000 for Virginia in loan authority. You could further direct that by March 15 the Administrator of the FDAA give you a reassessment of the situation, with further funds being available earlier if necessary. ok
—

I also recommend that, as soon as you make a decision, Frank Moore and Jack Watson be informed before a public announcement so that the appropriate Congressional and State officials can be notified.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

1/26/77

Tim Kraft -

The attached was returned in
the President's outbox. It is
forwarded to you for appropriate
handling.

Rick Hutcheson

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 25, 1977

MEMORANDUM FOR TIM KRAFT

FROM: JACK WATSON *W*

SUBJECT: Meeting with the President on Thursday
January 27 at 2:50 p.m.

*HAM
FYI
- YOU HAVE NOT YET
SIGNED OFF ON THE
DOT PERSONS LISTED
BELOW - SCHEDULED
TO SEE THE PRES.
THURSDAY*
Rich

The following people are top level Subcabinet members of Secretary Adams' staff and will meet in the Oval Office with the President:

*Tim -
Get me a
brief background
on each before
mtg -
J*

I need about

1, 2, 3 & 4

in the paper.

First two

last about

S.

HJ.

- ① Mr. Alan Butchman
Deputy Secretary of Transportation
- ② Mr. Chester Davenport
Assistant Secretary for Policy, Plans and
International Affairs
- ③ Mr. Terrence Bracy
Assistant Secretary for Congressional and
and Intergovernmental Affairs
- ⑤ Mr. Mort Downey
Deputy Undersecretary for Program and Budget
- ④ Ms. Linda Kamm
General Counsel

[Handwritten signature/initials]

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 26, 1977

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR:

JACK WATSON

FROM:

RICK HUTCHESON ^{RH}

The following notation was directed to you in the President's outbox:

"Present regional offices are almost worthless. Have Secretaries involved (HUD, HEW, Labor, Commerce, etc) work out an early proposal to me on reducing personnel, increasing coordination, and selecting administrators.

I want to be involved personally before final decisions are made. Do not try to preserve status quo."

Please follow up with appropriate action.

cc: Stu Eizenstat
Ham Jordan

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

1-26-77

To Jack Watson

Present regional offices are almost worthless. Have Secretaries involved (Hud, HEW, Labor, Commerce, etc) work out an early proposal to me on reducing personnel, increasing coordination, and selecting administrators.

I want to be involved personally before final decisions are made. Do not try to preserve status quo.

Jimmy

cc: Stu
Ham

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

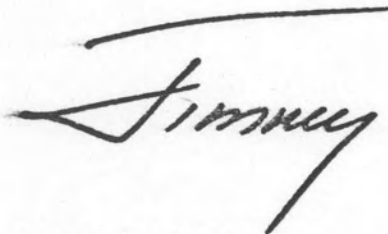
January 26, 1977

To David Rockefeller

I appreciated your letter with its news about the recent Commission meeting in Tokyo. As you surmised, a number of us American Trilateralists were, indeed, busy in Washington!

Your visit to Peking sounded interesting, and I was glad to see that you plan to discuss it with Cy Vance and Zbig Brzezinski. I hope that we also have a chance to get together in the weeks ahead.

Sincerely,



Mr. David Rockefeller
1 Chase Manhattan Plaza
New York, New York 10005

*p.s. Tim Kraft will arrange
for you to see me.*

cc: Tim



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Jan. 26, 1977

Mr. President:

This is a sample of the letter
I have prepared to thank the
technicians who worked on the
gala. There are 52 of these
letters; I can sign them for
you unless you prefer to
sign them yourself.

*Thank
you Sir
J*

ELECTROSTATIC REPRODUCTION MADE FOR
PRESERVATION PURPOSES

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MR PRESIDENT

These letters were requested
by the Congressman's office.

Rick Hutcheson
1/26/77

*Always say "Rosalynn"
instead of "Mrs. Carter"*

(ok on these) J.C.

ELECTROSTATIC REPRODUCTION MADE FOR
PRESERVATION PURPOSES

Letter

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

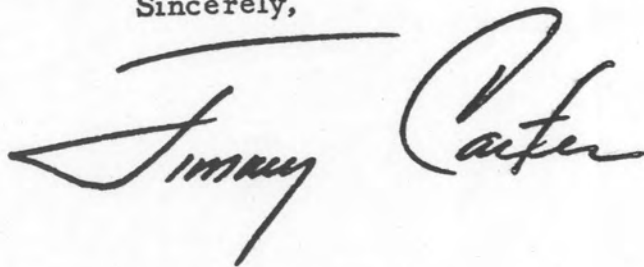
January 25, 1977

To Congressman John Cavanaugh

Mrs. Carter and I were deeply saddened to learn of your father's death, and you are very much in our thoughts at this difficult time.

May the love and happy memories which you share with your family serve to console you in this great loss. Please be assured that you have our prayers and our deepest sympathy.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Jimmy Carter". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned below the word "Sincerely,".

The Honorable John Cavanaugh
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MR PRESIDENT

These letters were requested
by the Congressman's office.

Rick Hutcheson
1/26/77

*Always say "Rosalynn"
instead of "Mrs. Carter"*

(ok on these) J.C.

cc: Greg Schneiders
Anne Higgins

PULL
THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

ATTENDANCE AT THE
SWEARING IN OF ATTORNEY GENERAL-DESIGNATE BELL

Wednesday - January 26, 1977

Department of Justice

Departure: 11:05 a.m.

From: Tim Kraft

SEQUENCE

11:05 a.m. You board motorcade on South Grounds
and depart en route Department of Justice.

11:10 a.m. Motorcade arrives Department of Justice.

PRESS POOL COVERAGE
CLOSED ARRIVAL

You proceed to holding room.

11:11 a.m. You arrive holding room where you
will be met by Chief Justice Warren
Burger and Attorney General-Designate
and Mrs. Griffin Bell.

11:15 a.m. Announcement.

You, Chief Justice Burger, and Attorney
General-Designate and Mrs. Bell proceed
inside Great Hall and onto stage.

OPEN PRESS COVERAGE
ATTENDANCE: 300

11:16 a.m. BRIEF PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS.

FULL PRESS COVERAGE

1977 JAN 26 11 16 AM
U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE

2.

11:18 a.m. Presidential remarks conclude. You request Chief Justice Burger to swear-in Attorney General-Designate Bell.

11:19 a.m. Swearing In Ceremony.

11:20 a.m. Ceremony concludes.

11:21 a.m. Remarks by Attorney General Bell.

11:30 a.m. Remarks conclude.

11:35 a.m. You congratulate Attorney General Bell and depart on a tour of the Civil Division of the Department of Justice. You will be accompanied by:

Attorney General and Mrs. Bell
Glenn Pommering, Assistant Attorney General
for Administration
Irving Jaffe, Acting Assistant Attorney General
for the Civil Division

PRESS POOL COVERAGE (first 5 minutes)

11:50 a.m. You thank your hosts, conclude tour, and depart for the motorcade.

11:55 a.m. Motorcade departs Department of Justice en route South Grounds.

12:00 Noon Arrive South Grounds.

NOTE: Your next meeting is with Congressman Andrew J. Young in the Oval Office at 12:15 P.M.

My remarks

Info CJ Super

Call

See remarks

your

Best brief Belman
on Budget Comm

789

Judy reference Justice, Money
Hammity

Dept of Justice, not law

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Jan. 26, 1977

Mr. President:

Mrs. Carter and Madeline have already approved the attached memo. I would also like to have your approval or changes before I give it to Hugh. Although he will write the actual memo which goes to staff over his name, this memo will probably be the basis for his.

Thanks.

Maya

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

TO: Hugh Carter

FROM: Maxie Wells

DATE: January 26, 1977

RE: Staff Access to the Residence

ok
/

The President and Mrs. Carter would like to keep the Residence as private as possible and have asked that the following standards be followed regarding staff access to the Residence:

- 1) No staff member may give tours of either public rooms or the private quarters. If staff members would like special tours for family or VIPs, these tours may be arranged through the White House Visitors' Office. Special tours are available from 8:00 to 10:00 on Tuesday through Saturday mornings.
- 2) No staff member should be above the ground floor after noon on Tuesday through Saturday or any time on Sunday or Monday. The first floor is open on Tuesday through Saturday mornings for tours; after the tours have ended the first floor will be sealed to provide greater freedom of movement for the First Family. Staff members needing access to East and West Wings may still cross through the ground floor.
- 3) A staff member needing access to the private quarters (all space above the first floor) at any time should call the President or Mrs. Carter to request permission to visit and then notify the Usher's office that he/she is expected.

Mrs. Carter has asked that you notify (by memo) all East and West Wing staff members and appropriate security officers that these new policies should be put into effect immediately. These policies are not meant to limit staff access to the Carters, but merely to provide them the common courtesy of privacy in their own home. Thank you.

cc: The President
Mrs. Carter
Madeline MacBean

15 *copy*

Hand sent to President; ZB to President; 1126 (1126 log in 1/26)

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

00167

MEETING WITH SIR PETER RAMSBOTHAM,
AMBASSADOR OF GREAT BRITAIN

Wednesday, January 26, 1977

4:30 p.m. (30 minutes)

The Oval Office

From: Zbigniew Brzezinski

I. PURPOSE

For a brief informal discussion with the Ambassador.

II. BACKGROUND, PARTICIPANTS & PRESS PLAN

A. Background: This is in the nature of a courtesy call, but which will also symbolize your intention to give priority to relations with our close allies. Since you will also be seeing the Soviet and Chinese Ambassadors, you agreed to call in the British Ambassador first of all.

The Vice President will be seeing Prime Minister Callaghan on Thursday, and you will not want to preempt his discussion by going into too much substance with the Ambassador. Nevertheless, you will want to stress that your policy will be to consult closely with our European and Japanese allies on global issues, as well as on the more traditional security questions. You will also want to assure the Ambassador of your high regard for the Prime Minister, and to reaffirm that the Vice President is your close advisor who will be speaking in your name when he sees the Prime Minister.

B. Participants: Ambassador Ramsbotham and Zbigniew Brzezinski.

C. Press Plan: Recommend White House photographer.

DECLASSIFIED

For: Rac Project

ESON: NLC-126641-0

BY *[Signature]* NARA, DATE 12/3/12

~~CONFIDENTIAL (GDS)~~